

The CRISIS

JUNE-JULY, 1961

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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Vol. 68, No. 6

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June-July, 1961

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Children in the Fashion for Freedom Show given by the Springfield, Massachusetts, branch: front row, from L, Pamela Wilson, Ruth Loving, Delphine Ray; back row, Minor Loving, Mrs. Marguerite Belafonte, director special projects, NAACP; and Anthony Loving.—Buddy Rose Photo.

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JUNE/JULY, 1961

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UPI Photo

JIM PECK of New York City sits in a Birmingham, Ala., hospital, May 14, after he was beaten by an angry mob.

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JUNE-J

■ This article reports the experiences of one of the most severely mauled of the Freedom Riders

Not So Deep Are the Roots—14 Years Later

By Jim Peck

"NOT So Deep are the Roots" is the title I gave to my article in the September 1947 CRISIS on the first "Freedom Ride" which the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) together with the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) had initiated that April. I was referring to the "roots" of that "poisonous weed," racial segregation.

I title this also "Not So Deep Are the Roots" despite the severe beatings I and others in our group received in Anniston and Birmingham on CORE's first Freedom Ride of 1961 and the subsequent mob violence which members of the Nashville Nonviolent Movement faced in Montgomery.

On our Freedom Ride, which started May 4 in Washington and ended May 17 in New Orleans, we found that the seating pattern aboard

interstate buses, even in the Deep South, has become largely desegregated. No longer do Negroes confine themselves to the two rear seats, as was the case during our trip 14 years ago. In no instance during our Freedom Ride was integrated seating challenged either by bus drivers or by passengers.

What remains to be desegregated are the terminal facilities and the rest stops. Although five months had elapsed since the Supreme Court outlawed segregation at terminals, we found that Negroes still adhere to the separate and grossly unequal "colored" waiting rooms, rest rooms and restaurants. This was the case even in Richmond and other northern Virginia cities where the "white" and "colored" signs have been removed.

However, even in this phase of bus travel, the "roots" are not so deep as to be unremovable. In Salisbury, North Carolina, where the color signs were on every facility, two Negro women, after watching our testers, sat down to eat at the "white" counter. Our most clearcut

JIM PECK, one of the Freedom Riders, as well as a member of CORE, is a confirmed foe of jim crow and segregation in all its forms. He lives in New York City.

evidence on this was in Georgia, which is certainly a deep-south state.

Upon arrival in Augusta May 12 and again upon departure the following day, members of our interracial group of 14 ate at both the Trailways and Greyhound bus stations without incident. It marked the first time that Negroes had ever been served there. In fact only a few months before, a Negro serviceman had been arrested for trying to eat at one of the terminals. Yet we drew little attention. Neither racist hoodlums nor curiosity seekers were present. To make sure that the policy change was not solely for our arrival and departure, we sent a test team to both terminal restaurants during the evening of our overnight stop and they were courteously served.

NO GAPERS

In Athens, scene of last fall's mob action against admission of two Negro college students, we were served without question at the rest stop. Again, there were no gapers. The scene of the momentarily integrated lunch counter could have been somewhere up north rather than deep in Georgia. In Atlanta, the Greyhound restaurant was closed for repairs but we ate at the Trailways restaurant without incident. We also used the "white" waiting rooms and rest rooms at both terminals as we did throughout the trip.

On May 15, upon leaving Birmingham, where I had been so severely beaten the day before by a segregationist mob, we sat in the "white" Greyhound waiting room for a considerable time. Even in Montgomery, scene of a more widespread outbreak



UPI

A bloody James Zwerg, 21, of Nashville, Tenn., hangs his head dejectedly after the brutal beating he suffered at the hands of pro-segregationists in Montgomery, Ala., on May 20. He lay in the street for more than an hour waiting for a Negro ambulance, since white ambulances would not service "Freedom Riders."

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of mob violence, members of the Nashville Nonviolent Movement on the Freedom Ride following ours, were served without incident prior to boarding a Trailways bus for Jackson.

There, they were arrested for trying to eat at the Trailways restaurant. Others were similarly arrested at the railway station restaurant. At this writing 116, including James Farmer, national director of CORE are serving 66-day jail sentences in Jackson rather than pay the \$200 fines imposed on them for "failing to move on." Jackson, Mississippi, apparently refuses to recognize the Supreme Court of the U.S. But even that city will come into line if large numbers of Freedom Riders continue to assert their rights.

Most nightmarish day of our Freedom Ride was Sunday, May 14—Mothers Day. When I "phoned" Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth in Birmingham to give him the arrival times of our

two buses from Atlanta, I learned that white supremacists were expected to "greet" us. However, there was no inkling that a similar mob was waiting in Anniston. Our first group, aboard Greyhound, learned of this when their bus stopped just outside of Anniston and their driver conferred briefly with the driver of another Greyhound bus going the other way.

When the Greyhound bus pulled into Anniston, it was immediately surrounded by an angry mob armed with iron bars. They set upon the vehicle, breaking windows and denting the sides. They punctured the tires. Finally, police arrived and the bus managed to depart. But the mob pursued it in cars. One car got ahead of the bus and prevented it from gathering speed. About six miles out, one of the tires went flat and the bus was forced to pull over to a gas station.

Within minutes, the pursuing mob

NATIONAL GUARD troops stand guard against further outbreaks of violence, early May 22, as Negroes leave the First Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., for their homes. An angry mob threatened to attack the church where Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was speaking.

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A fireman probes the charred interior of the Greyhound bus near Anniston, Ala., on May 14 after it was attacked by a mob of whites.

was again hitting the bus with iron bars. The rear window was broken and a bomb was hurled inside. At once the vehicle was filled with thick smoke. The passengers, including the Freedom Riders, ducked toward the floor in order to breathe. A few climbed out of a window. Some tried to get out the door, but it was being held shut from the outside. Shortly, the passengers succeeded in opening the door. All managed to escape before the bus burst into flames and was totally destroyed. As the Freedom Riders emerged, some of them were beaten. Henry Thomas was clubbed on the head. Belatedly, police arrived. A couple of them fired shots into the air. The mob dispersed and the injured were treat-

ed at a local hospital. The Freedom Riders finally reached Birmingham in cars dispatched by Rev. Shuttleworth.

HOODLUMS ATTACK

When the Trailways bus carrying the rest of us arrived in Anniston an hour later, the other passengers heard at the rest stop what had happened to the Greyhound bus and discontinued their trip. As the bus was about to depart, eight hoodlums climbed aboard and stood by the driver as he announced that he would refuse to proceed unless the Negro Freedom Riders moved to the rear of the bus. As the Negroes remained seated, the hoodlums cursed and started to move them, bodily, to the

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rear, kicking and slugging them at the same time. Walter Bergman and I who were seated toward the rear, moved up to try to halt the onslaught and we, too, were pushed, slugged and kicked. Finally, all of our group were forced to the back of the bus. The hoodlums—together with a pregnant woman whom they had brought aboard—sat in the very front. The seats in between remained empty. At that point the driver agreed to proceed to Birmingham. For the entire 2-hour ride, the hoodlums craned their necks to stare at us with looks of hatred.

Upon arrival in Birmingham, a mob was gathered outside the bus station. Charles Person and I entered the "white" waiting room. We were grabbed bodily and pushed toward the street exit. As soon as we reached the alleyway leading to the exit and were out of sight of persons in the waiting room, six of the mob assaulted me with fists and lead pipes. Five others attacked Person.

Next, they attacked Tom Langston of the Birmingham *Post-Herald* and smashed his camera. Langston had been sufficiently quick-witted to remove his film and the photo of my beating, clearly showing the hate-filled faces of my assailants, appeared in next morning's *Post-Herald* and in other papers throughout the country.

Then Clancy Lake, a radio newsman, was attacked as he sat in his car broadcasting an account of the onslaught. As for me, I was soon unconscious as a result of the barrage of hard blows. When I came-to, in a pool of blood, the mob had gone. An ambulance took me to Hill-

man Clinic where 53 stitches were sewed into my head and face. Not a single uniformed policeman had been in sight at the Trailways terminal. Police Chief Eugene "Bull" Connor, notorious for his brutality over the years, later explained that since it was Mothers Day, most of the police were off-duty. For us Freedom Riders, it was a Mothers Day to remember.

But that chapter of the story is closed. There was one worse outbreak of violence, four days later when Freedom Riders from Nashville arrived in Montgomery, but none since. The guilt for these outbreaks lies largely with Governor Patterson of Alabama who, by his attitude, aided and abetted them.

The story today—and it is an encouraging one—is that the Freedom Rides are on the increase. CORE has established in New Orleans a nonviolent training program for participants and is coordinating its mobilization of Freedom Riders with southern-based groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Nashville Nonviolent Movement and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Negro and white students from all parts of the country are volunteering for these Rides. Religious and civic leaders from coast to coast are rallying to their support.

"COOLING-OFF" REJECTED

The government proposal for a "cooling-off" period has been unanimously rejected by leaders of the Freedom Ride movement including Martin Luther King, by Roy Wilkins, secretary of the NAACP, and by

other leading supporters. Instead of taking a forthright, pro-Freedom Ride position which would have gained respect for the U.S. at the Summit Meeting in Vienna, the Kennedy Administration chose to try to sweep the issue under-the-rug.

As for me, perhaps the most significant "honor" I have received for my Freedom Ride participation was that accorded by Senator Eastland of Mississippi when he singled me out on the Senate floor May 25 as "a Communist agitator and organizer of the most dangerous kind" who is

"disloyal to his country."

Countering this outburst, the New York Post commented editorially:

Surely Eastland should have learned the distinction between a pacifist and a Communist, no matter how much he dislikes both. But he is unable or unwilling to learn. He took the Senate floor for a raucous attack on Jim Peck, the Freedom Rider who was so savagely assaulted by an Alabama mob. Peck's pacifist convictions are a long matter of record: he has suffered imprisonment for them on other occasions. Does Eastland really not grasp the distinction? Is he a fool or a faker?

NATIONAL GUARD troops and local police stand guard during a temporary halt in the bus journey of the "Freedom Riders" near Jackson, Miss.

UPI Photo



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FORMER president Harry S. Truman tells "Freedom Rider" Jim Peck (L) to "stay up north" and let the South work out its own problems.

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TALK WITH TRUMAN

On June 5 I decided to approach former President Harry S. Truman during his early-morning walk (in New York City) to take issue with a statement he had made on his walk a couple of days earlier that "north-erners who go south as Freedom Riders are meddlesome intruders [who] should stay home and attend to their own business."

When I introduced myself as "a Freedom Rider from the north," Truman interrupted with: "Better stay up north, then."

I went on to say: "As I see it, ending racial segregation in the U.S. is the business of all conscientious citizens, north, south, east and west. Racial segregation—more than any other single factor—besmirches the U.S. in the world's eyes and aids the Communist propaganda machine."

Truman then put in: "That's just what *you're* doing: helping the Communists!" As I started a final sentence, Truman snapped: "I'm not going to say any more!"

During the walk, after reporters had exhausted their questions on other matters, I expressed regret that the former President would not discuss the Freedom Rides in a serious manner, particularly since many prominent persons view them favorably. Truman disposed of the matter by calling the Freedom Rides "just trouble-making."

Reporters told me it was the first time that Truman on his morning walks had been confronted on a key social issue. The confrontation, which received considerable publicity, was worthwhile, I feel. The former President's responses and his rudeness of manner certainly lent no dignity to his position.

THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE CRISIS, THE AUGUST-SEPTEMBER ISSUE, WILL BE OUT SEPTEMBER 1. THE CRISIS IS A BIMONTHLY DURING THE SUMMER MONTHS.



Mrs. Nina Jeffrey (L), financial secretary "Doc Wheeler Choral Society," presents proceeds of benefit to Williamsbridge, N. Y., branch president Walter Carlisle to aid ousted Negro tenants in Fayette and Haywood counties, Tenn. Nathaniel Harden, chairman branch membership committee, looks on.



Negro Benevolent Society of the Department of Sanitation, Inc., New York City, receives its NAACP life membership plaque from Madison Jones (R), former NAACP official. Commissioner Frank J. Lucia is receiving the plaque for the NBSDS.



Commission on Christian Social Concerns of St. Mark Methodist Church, New York City, presents its check for NAACP life membership — Dr. Charles Warren, pastor; Mrs. Fisher Morris, chairman CCSC; Mrs. Alcita Flood, chairman NYC branch membership committee; and NYC branch president, Atty. Percy Sutton.

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President William Pinkett of Denver, Colo., branch receives an NAACP life membership from Arthur Ballantine, Jr., editor-publisher Durango Cortez Herald. At right is Mrs. Jewel Rich, chairman branch life membership committee.



Amsterdam Welfare Center, New York City, becomes NAACP life member—Mildred Bond, NAACP life membership secretary; Lillian Zerwick, administrator AWC; Wynona Holliday, chairman center's NAACP campaign, receiving plaque; and Jesse Battalen, also member AWC's NAACP campaign committee.



Dr. W. T. Dooley, membership chairman Nashville, Tenn., branch presents NAACP life membership plaque to Rev. J. T. Patton, local mortician. Mrs. C. M. Hayes, branch president, and Gertrude Gorman (R), NAACP field secretary, look on approvingly.





Cecil Layne

MRS. ANNA STRUNSKY WALLING, widow of William English Walling, one of the founders of the NAACP, receives her NAACP life membership plaque from the Association's executive secretary, Roy Wilkins. Mrs. Walling stated that the purchase of this NAACP life membership was the realization of one of her fondest dreams and that "the NAACP will go on, a dynamic force in the eternal evolutionary process of greater and greater happiness for freedom and mankind." Although she had just undergone a serious operation, she insisted on coming to the NAACP office for the presentation. In the picture (from L) are Bardyl Rifat Tirana, the son of her daughter Rosamond (Mrs. Tirana); Mrs. Walling, Mr. Wilkins, and her daughter, Mrs. Norman Matson.

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■ Because of the urgency of this issue, *The Crisis* prints this second piece on the Negro worker

The Negro Wage Earner and Apprenticeship Training

By Herbert Hill

A BASIC need today is to make possible the full realization of the individual Negro's talents and abilities in terms of industrial and craft skills, to eliminate all the restrictions and limitations which prevent Negro youth from becoming highly skilled workers sharing the full benefits of the rich American economy. If we do not succeed in large measure in making possible the realization of the Negro potential, American society will be denied urgently needed manpower skills and the Negro will be forced into an even more marginal position in the American economy even though the expansion of economic opportunity increases for other groups within the community.

HERBERT HILL is labor secretary of the NAACP and author of "No Harvest for the Reaper."

Because the quality and quantity of vocational and technical training is a basic element in fundamentally changing the Negro's economic status, efforts to eliminate current restrictions that prevent the admission of qualified Negroes into apprenticeship training programs and other forms of vocational training must now be given greater attention by federal and state governments as well as by organized labor and industrial management.

The current status of the Negro wage earner is characterized by drastic change and crisis. Many traditional sources of Negro employment, as on the nation's railroads and in mass production industries, are rapidly disappearing as a result of automation and other technological changes in the economy. The fact that there is such a great concentration of Negroes in the ranks of the

unskilled and semi-skilled means that the increasing introduction of advanced methods of production will result in the large scale displacement of Negroes currently employed in unskilled jobs. One can cite many instances where a highly trained white man and a new machine have replaced a large number of unskilled Negro workers. The virtual exclusion of Negroes from apprenticeship and other training programs forces them to remain as marginal employees in the economy and directly affects the economic well-being of the entire Negro community, since it removes potential sources of stable employment in high-income occupations from the group.

BROAD EXCLUSION

At present there is a broad exclusion of Negro youth from apprenticeship training programs jointly conducted by industrial management and labor unions in the North as well as in the South. For many occupations the only way a worker can be recognized as qualified for employment is to successfully complete apprenticeship training programs. This is true for the printing trades, among machinists and metal workers, the various crafts in the building and construction trades industry, and many others. By apprenticeship we mean registered programs that consist of formal on-the-job training and related classroom instruction in the theory, content, and techniques of a great variety of skilled craft occupations involving a minimum of 4000 hours of instruction with a rising scale of wages for each 1000 hours of participation.

Recent studies such as that made by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, as well as by the NAACP, clearly indicate that no significant advances have been made by Negroes into those craft union apprenticeship training programs which have historically excluded non-whites. An examination of available data makes evident that less than one per cent of the apprentices in the construction industry throughout the United States are Negro. In the ten-year period 1950-1960 in the State of New York, the increase of Negro participation in building trades apprenticeship programs rose only from 1.5 per cent to 2 per cent. Commenting on this condition, Roy Wilkins recently stated that "given a continuation of present rates of advance, it will take Negroes 138 years, or until the Year 2094 to secure equal participation in skilled-craft training and employment. Surely this condition will not be accepted by Negroes and we hope it will not be countenanced by others."

Open access to plumbing and pipe fitting apprenticeships controlled by the Plumbers Union is a rare experience for young Negroes in the North as well as in the South. Similarly Negro youth are almost completely excluded from apprenticeship programs operated by the Sheet Metal Union, the Ornamental and Structural Iron Workers Union, the Glass Workers, the Tile Setters, the Bricklayers Union, as well as by other craft unions operating in the construction industry.

The railroad craft unions, as well as the railroad operating brotherhoods, remain adamant in their op-

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position to Negro craftsmen and openly bar apprenticeship opportunities to Negro youth. Almost equally exclusive are the printing trades unions. In a survey recently made by the NAACP of the seven major New York City newspapers, it was found that with the exclusion of building services and maintenance personnel, less than one per cent of those employed on the major newspapers are Negro. Virtually all of the Negroes employed on these newspapers are in white collar jurisdiction of the New York Newspaper Guild.

It is estimated that less than one-half of one per cent of those currently employed in the newspaper crafts outside of the Guild's jurisdiction are Negroes. This includes printing pressmen, compositors, photoengravers, stereotypers, paper handlers, mailers and delivery drivers. As far as apprenticeship training for these crafts are concerned we have been unable to detect a single instance where Negroes have been recently admitted into a training program in the newspaper crafts in the City of New York or in any other major city in the United States.

DEPRESSED STATUS

A recent study made by the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco has revealed that Negroes are not participating in the electrical, plumbing and carpentry apprenticeship training programs in that city and that only one Negro served as an apprentice in the metal trades. A report made by the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission entitled *A Study of Employment, Training and Placement Patterns in*

the Michigan Area, published in 1957, indicates the exclusion of Negro youth in the structural steel, sheet metal, lather and tile-setter apprenticeship programs in Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon. The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has published a study entitled *The Training of Negroes in the Skilled Trades* which concludes that a similar condition exists in virtually the entire state of Connecticut. In a study entitled *Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area* it was found that there is an absolute ban on apprenticeship opportunities for Negroes in the building trades and other reports indicate that the same condition exists in many other southern states. A major factor contributing to the permanently depressed status of Negro workers in the South is that in the new industrial centers rapidly developing in the southern states, the technical training programs offered in the segregated Negro vocational schools are extremely limited and frequently were found to be obsolete in terms of modern industrial technology.

In most of these programs the role of the labor union is decisive because the trade union usually determines who is admitted into the training program and, therefore, who is admitted into the union. There appears to be a complete lack of uniformity in local union practices even within a given international union. Thus, the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, dated July, 1956, page 46, Section 15, reads: "Each local union has power to adopt its own apprenticeship training or help-

er rules as the condition of each community may require. But after apprentice or helper has worked six months under the sponsorship or jurisdiction of a local union he shall be admitted or initiated into the IBEW through the local union and the local union shall send to the International Secretary per capita tax as provided in Article X."

Most frequently apprentices are indentured by joint labor-management committees which are established in many crafts and industries where this organizational form provides the most practical method of sponsoring skilled craft training. Joint apprenticeship committees are usually composed of equal numbers of management, labor and public representatives in any given trade. For all practical purposes, joint apprenticeship committees are controlled by the union and represent the interests of particular craft organizations in formal training systems. This appears to be especially true in the building trades where joint apprenticeship committees predominate.

ROLE OF CRAFT UNIONS

Craft unions also play an important role in the recruitment and selection of apprentices through their relationship to employer-indenturing units. These relationships may range from simple acquiescence in management's choice of apprentices, to unilateral selection of apprentices by the craft union as in Cleveland where apprentices are directly indentured to Local 38 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Labor also exercises control over

apprenticeship manpower through its ability to dispatch apprentices through hiring-hall procedures in *de facto* closed shop situations. In these circumstances, craft unions have effective power to either promote or prevent the admission possibilities of individuals or of a class of persons.

Through the aforementioned sources of control, craft unions are frequently the decisive element in the recruitment process in many apprenticeship programs and often prevent Negro youth from becoming skilled craft workers via the established route of apprenticeship.

On the level of the small shop and local union, the traditions of discrimination have now become deeply institutionalized. A form of caste psychology impels many workers to regard their positions as "white men's jobs," to which no Negro should aspire. These workers and, often, their union leaders regard jobs in their industries as a kind of private privilege, to be accorded and denied by them as they see fit. Often, Negroes are not alone in being barred from such unions; they attempt to maintain an artificial labor shortage. This is especially true in the building and printing trades, which have much of the character of the medieval guild. On the local level, the inertia which sustains discrimination is to be found among skilled workers in big industry as well as among craftsmen, and in the North almost as commonly as in the South.

The discriminatory policies and practices of craft unions described above are in direct contravention of sixteen state statutes prohibiting the

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barring of employment opportunities on the basis of race or color. They appear also to be in opposition to the intent of federal executive orders prohibiting discriminatory employment practices in the fulfillment of federal government contracts. They are also in direct violation of the ethos of a democratic trade union operating in a free society.

Federal and state agencies perform a variety of functions directly and indirectly in the operation of apprenticeship training programs. The National Apprentice Training Act (Public Law 308, known as the Fitzgerald Act) was passed in 1937 and established the Apprentice Training Service as a constituent unit of the United States Department of Labor. In 1942, an Executive Order transferred the Service to the War Manpower Commission. In September, 1945, the Apprentice Training Service was returned to the Department of Labor by executive order and is now called the Bureau of Apprentice Training. Originally the Apprentice Training Service was established to offer advisory service to industry in planning and conducting an organized and systematic apprenticeship training program.

REGIONAL OFFICES

The Apprentice Training Service operates through twelve regional offices and their many field offices located in communities of important population and industrial concentration. These regional and local field offices assist management and trade unions in establishing apprentice programs, to plan recruitment procedures, and to secure compliance of

training standards with criteria established by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship. This Committee is responsible for developing standards and policies for the operation of the nation's apprenticeship programs. However, because of the large number and variety of trades and crafts the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship concerns itself primarily with the broad questions of policy while leaving more specific questions to state and local apprenticeship committees. The Federal Committee on Apprenticeship is composed of representatives of management, labor and interested government agencies.

There are 29 apprenticeship agencies operating in 50 states and the District of Columbia which attempt to service and coordinate local programs. State Councils are made up of an equal number of representatives of management and labor, and they usually include representatives of the state boards of education and the state department of labor.

Local apprenticeship programs provide for the recruitment of prospective apprentices and the registration of individual agreements between the apprentices and their employers with the state department of labor. This registration, in addition to safeguarding the interests of the apprentice, establishes a national inventory of the total number of apprentices in training by trade classifications and the approximate number of apprentices in each period of the term of apprenticeship. Upon satisfactory completion of training the state council issues to new journeymen a Certificate of Completion of Apprenticeship.

In several instances there are industry-wide apprenticeship committees. Among the most important of these are to be found the General Committee on Apprenticeship for the Construction Industry, consisting of leading representatives of contractor and labor organizations which act as a coordinating body for apprentice training for all branches of the construction industry and help to promote the development of national and local apprentice training programs. A number of national employer associations and trade unions have set up apprenticeship committees which meet as joint labor-management committees to develop national trade and apprenticeship standards and to encourage local employer and trade union affiliates to establish training programs in conformity with the national standards.

Federal, state, and local governments can make a decisive contribution to eliminating discriminatory racial practices in the operation of apprenticeship training programs by immediately withholding all forms of support from discriminatory apprenticeship-training programs and insisting on nondiscrimination as a basic criteria for registration as an accepted apprenticeship program.

The Bureau of Apprentice Training of the United States Department of Labor, in providing certification for an apprenticeship program, provides the legal basis for public subsidies to apprenticeship programs. The federal government, through grants-in-aid coming from the U. S. Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Wel-

fare, provides funds which subsidize apprenticeship training programs in many states. The federal government, therefore, is directly subsidizing discrimination in the skilled trades whenever a trade union or employer excludes Negroes and members of other minority groups from admission into a registered apprenticeship training program.

PUBLIC SUBSIDIES

State governments also provide a variety of public subsidies in the operation of these programs and municipal and county boards of education in thousands of communities across the country subsidize offending apprenticeship programs by permitting the use of public school buildings, providing instructors, power and materials as well as in a variety of other ways.

As is apparent, federal, state, and local governments are significantly involved in the operation of apprenticeship training and very much so in terms of providing the essential subsidies without which most of these programs could not operate. It is equally clear that governmental agencies have not, with very few exceptions, exercised their considerable power to assure that apprenticeship training programs are open to all youths regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. Some minimal progress has been made in Oregon, California, and New York in securing the admission of one or two Negroes into hitherto "lily-white" apprenticeship programs. But these isolated actions are completely inadequate, since they do not eradicate the broad pattern of Negro exclusion

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The NAACP believes that federal and state agencies must, as a matter of basic policy, refuse certification and withhold funds and other forms of subsidization from apprenticeship training programs refusing to admit Negroes or members of other minority groups; that municipal and county boards of education immediately withdraw all forms of support from discriminatory apprenticeship programs including the use of vocational school buildings and other facilities; that management institute fair employment policies and insure their fulfillment by subordinate employees and that the great industrial corporations operating with United States government contracts must begin to comply with federal executive orders prohibiting bias in employment.

We believe that the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations must begin to seriously enforce its own anti-dis-

crimination declarations in the matter of racial exclusion practices and segregation. The AFL-CIO Executive Council as well as international unions must assume direct responsibility and proceed to act against recalcitrant affiliates that have traditionally engaged in anti-Negro practices. We, further believe, that apprenticeship agencies have the responsibility to establish an atmosphere of equality of opportunity in which integration may be achieved by individual apprenticeship units, especially in the matter of recruitment procedures and the establishment of objective standards which will be uniformly applied in accepting or rejecting applicants.

NEGRO HERITAGE

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52ND ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

JULY 10, MONDAY, TO JULY 16, SUNDAY

Looking and Listening . . .

NEGRO EDITOR

FOR the first time in the history of the university, a Negro has been named editor-in-chief of the *Law Review* of the University of North Carolina. He is 24-year-old Julius LaVonne Chambers of Mount Gilead, N. C. *Southern School News* (June, 1961) relates these particulars:

Chambers . . . is top man in his class. His selection was announced quietly by the university's news bureau, without reference to his race, and it was published in many newspapers in the state without reaction. Several days later, when his racial identification was published, there still was no reaction.

The director of the news bureau, A. G. (Pete) Ivey, said the original story was handled 'for just what Chambers is—another student. But I knew this was a big story, and I decided to have the complete . . . information in reach and to offer it freely and willingly if asked.'

Chambers, who will be a senior next year, maintains an 'A' average in the law school. He was selected, university officials said, by the standards which are used each year in picking the editor-in-chief.

The standards include academic standing, writing ability, and achievement on the staff of the *Law Review* during the first two years in the law school.

Following the prescribed method of selection, the editors during the 1960-61 school year nominated eight students from among those who will be third-year students next fall. These eight

are academically at the head of their class.

The law school faculty then selected four of the eight and picked from those four the person they thought had the best combination of achievements in the academic-writing-accomplishment fields which are the guides.

By these measurements, Chambers was acknowledged as the leading man in his class and was named to the editorship.

In the current issue of the *Law Review*, Chambers has an article entitled: 'Specific Performance of an Oral Contract to Devise Real Property.' For the next issue he has written an article entitled 'Tors Survey.'

SEGREGATION IN LIBRARIES

FEW people are aware of the extent of racial segregation in public libraries in the South. Mrs. Virginia Lacy Jones, dean, School of Library Service, Atlanta University, writes (*Wilson Library Bulletin*, May, 1961):

Those of us who live in the South know by experience that the terms 'segregated' and 'desegregated' mean different things in different communities. For example, some public libraries that claim to operate on a desegregated basis may permit Negroes to use the card catalog and withdraw books, but do not permit them to browse, use the reference or periodical collection, or to sit in the library and read. Some 'desegregated' public libraries provide a special room or alcove for Negro patrons who wish to read in the library. This room or special area may bear a

sign which reads: 'Patrons' under 16 public libraries may be branches gated by to be des request in serious the library a closed may use

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sign which reads 'Reserved for Negro Patrons.' In some communities Negroes under 16 years of age may not use the public library, or the central library may be open to Negro adults and the branches continue to operate on a segregated basis. Some libraries may claim to be desegregated because upon special request a Negro professional engaged in serious study or research may go to the library, where he is seated either in a closed office or in the stack area, and may use materials that do not circulate.

Other 'desegregated' Southern public libraries may permit Negroes to use all of the service areas in the library, but not to attend lectures, film forums, book discussions, art exhibits, story hours, or meetings held in the library.

Frequently, Negro professional librarians employed in a library system are not permitted to attend staff meetings; they are sent minutes of such meetings.

Some libraries have separate entrances and exits for Negro and white patrons, and separate charging desks. Another that I visited had 12 rest rooms—4 for Negro and white custodians, men and women; 4 for Negro and white patrons, men and women; and 4 for Negro and white staff members, men and women. . . .

RECENT APPOINTMENTS

THE U. S. Treasury Department has appointed Charles A. Dorsey and Robert C. Vowels as economists,

TALENT AWARDED—*These two obviously happy people, being warmly congratulated by Rudolph Bing, are this year's winners in the Metropolitan Opera Association National Auditions, April 6. Francesca Roberto (L), 26, made her Italian debut in 1959; George Shirley, 26, is from Detroit, Mich.*





FHA Photo

OLIVER W. HILL is sworn in by FHA commissioner Neal J. Hardy as the new assistant to the commissioner for intergroup relations. From L, Mr. Hill, Mrs. Hill, and Neal J. Hardy.

and Jesse Johnson as management analyst. Their employment brings to a total of four the number of Negroes appointed this year to important positions of this kind in the Treasury Department.

Oliver W. Hill, a Richmond, Virginia, attorney long active in the NAACP and local civic affairs, has been officially appointed assistant for intergroup relations to the Federal Housing Administration Commissioner.

James R. Poole, a veteran of nearly 19 years' federal service, has been appointed to the newly created post assistant to the Civil Service Commission's director of college relations

and recruitment. Mr. Poole's appointment became effective May 14.

CONNECTICUT ATTITUDES

"A FAVORABLE climate for continuing progress in racial integration" is reported as a major finding in a study of 1100 white and Negro citizens of Connecticut. The study was conducted by the State Commission on Civil Rights.

Although Negro sentiment is stronger for increased integration than white sentiment is, the Negro respondents underestimated the reservoir of support that they have among whites. Further, this white

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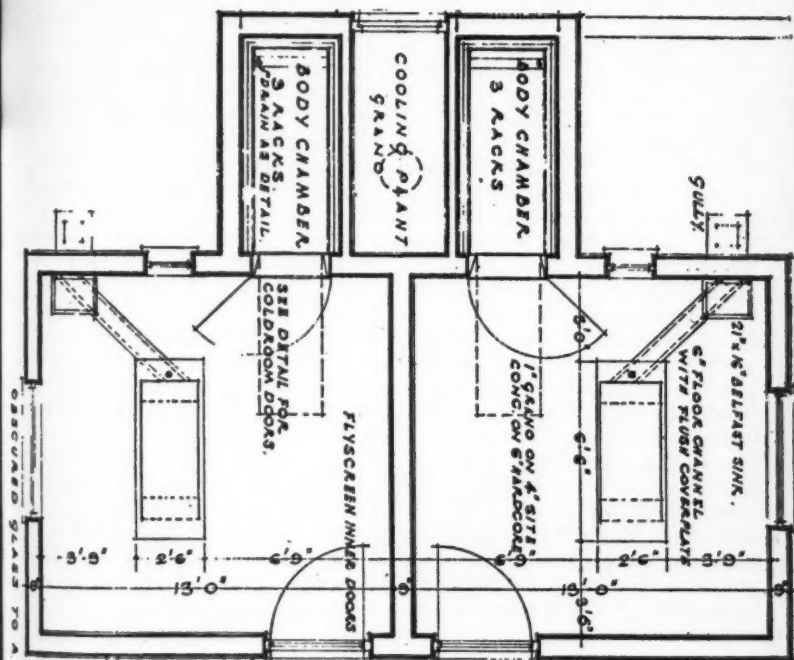
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SEPARATION TO THE BITTER END

WE reprint below details from the Architects' Department of the Cape Provincial Administration drawing No. 69/88, to show how a segregated mortuary is planned.

STANDARD DUAL RACE
MORTUARY BLOCK.
WITH 6 BODY RACKS AND COOLING PLANT.



CONTACT (Cape Town, South Africa, Feb. 25, 1961)

sentiment for further advance is strongest among the younger, better educated segment. This suggests, the study points out, that intensified work by the churches, service groups, public schools, and labor unions should yield further advances in Connecticut's historical leadership in affording equal opportunity for all of its citizens.

"Primarily, the study answers our questions about the impact of the southern school desegregation drive on attitudes here in Connecticut," Commission Chairman Elmo Roper says. "As the official agency most directly concerned with interracial attitudes and practices, we sensed some time ago that the chain of events resulting from the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 concerning integration of the public schools stretched beyond the South and into New England. Now on the basis of 110 interviews, half with Negro and half with white residents of our larger metropolitan areas, we can state that the majority of people with whom we talked believe that events in the South have influenced race relations in Connecticut, and generally for the better. Especially among the better-educated persons of both races, there is a feeling that efforts toward desegregation in the South have improved attitudes toward Negroes here, made for greater social acceptance, and led to increased awareness and more discussion of racial problems, with a fuller sense of ethical responsibility. Although most of the interviews were conducted when sit-in demonstrations in the South were at their height, only about one person in ten felt any sense of increased

racial hostility in Connecticut. More than half of the white persons and nearly two-thirds of the Negroes felt that racial integration in Connecticut had increased since 1954. For the purposes of the Commission, these are favorable findings."

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

THE Department of Justice is seeking court action to open public schools in Prince Edward county, Virginia, where Negro children have had no formal education since the schools were closed in June, 1959. The Department filed a motion to intervene as a plaintiff in a suit brought by Negro high school students against the county school board and other officials.

The motion was filed before United States District Court Judge Oren R. Lewis in Richmond.

"We have tried to work this out to permit Negro children to go to school," Attorney General Kennedy said. "They are unable to. Court orders are being circumvented and nullified. Therefore, we have brought this action to protect the integrity of the judicial process of the United States."

Since public schools were closed, approximately 1,400 white children in the county have attended private schools financed by the state of Virginia, the county and by contributions from private citizens in lieu of taxes, the motion said.

There are no public or private schools for the approximately 1,700 Negro children in the county.

The motion asked the court to enjoin county and state officials "from

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failing or refusing to maintain in Prince Edward county a system of public free schools."

Injunctions also were sought against public support of the private schools in Prince Edward county and against public support of any public schools in the state until public schools are reopened in the county.

The motion to intervene would put the government on the side of the plaintiffs in the case, originally brought in 1952. The Prince Edward case was one of the four in which the United States Supreme Court overturned the separate-but-equal school doctrine in 1954.

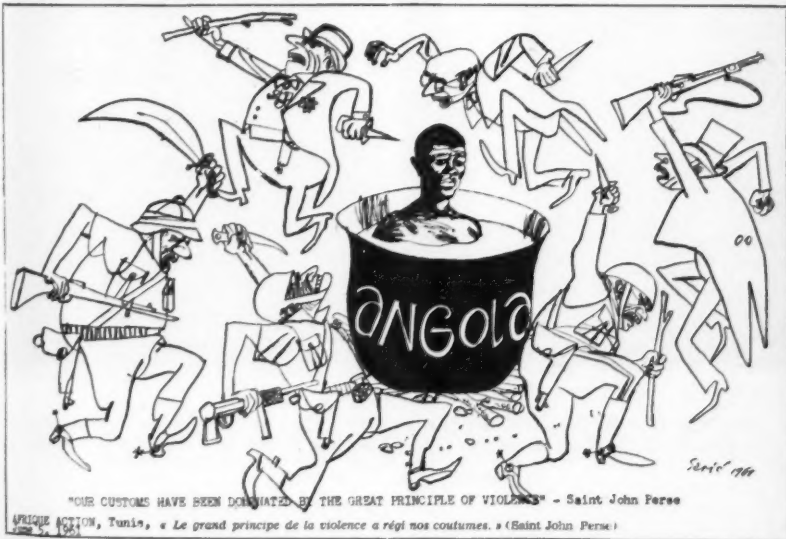
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

THE Department of Justice contends that states have a Constitutional duty to operate public schools and cannot abandon them to avoid

desegregation or probably not for any other reason. This position has been set forth in a brief filed in the U. S. District Court at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in the St. Helena Parish (La.) school suit. A three-judge panel is considering a move by St. Helena Parish to close public schools rather than to desegregate them under a federal court order.

The case challenging racial segregation in the St. Helena schools was filed September 4, 1952. On May 25, 1960, the United States District Court ordered the schools desegregated but did not specify a date.

On February 20, 1961, eleven days after this order was affirmed by the Court of Appeals, the Louisiana legislature authorized local school boards to close their public schools if a majority of the local electorate approve.





WOODFORD R. PORTER, elected in 1958 as the first Negro member of the Louisville, Ky., school board has become the first Negro to serve as chairman of the board.



Ed Bagwell

"NAACP WEEK IN NEW YORK"—Mayor Robert F. Wagner presents NAACP leader Roy Wilkins the mayor's official proclamation designating May 15-20 as NAACP Week in New York City.



MALTREATED MISSISSIPPI TOT—Nine-year-old Gloria Laverne Floyd was lassoed by whites with a metal wire from a moving car and dragged. She suffered deep gash in her head, cheek bruises, cut on her right shoulder, and burn marks on her neck from the wire. She is being examined by NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers in Jackson, Miss.



Harold A. Reed

THE WOMEN'S CIVIC GUILD of Washington, D. C., presents a \$500 check to the District branch for the Guild's NAACP life membership. Dr. E. Franklin Jackson, branch president, accepts the check from Mrs. Marie Smith, WCG guild president, in the presence of Mrs. Edith DeBruhl. The WCG also received a plaque for outstanding services to the District branch.

TOMORROW

is not soon enough!

Time does not stand still . . . nor are battles won by armies which do not advance.

So, too, the NAACP program demands action, progress, sacrifice. Demand them now.

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Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Mrs. Daisy Lampkin
Dr. J. Leonidas Leach
Hon. Herbert H. Lehman

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NAACP HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK**

Editorial

FREEDOM RIDES

TWO harsh facts have been jerked into focus by national reaction to the Freedom Rides. There is the widely held belief that the Freedom Riders are extremists and "outside agitators." Many "liberals," it seems, hold this view and Attorney General Robert Kennedy certainly gave it support when he called for a "cooling off" period. The other view, which is more covert, and not always publicly articulated, is that the Negro now has his basic rights and that the "minor" indignities he now suffers will be cleared up gradually through education, Christian good will, forgiveness, and time.

But we ask, why is it that when Negroes demand their rights they are told to "go slow" and then accused of being extremists? Why must they always be the ones who are told to "cool off," to take a broad view of the problem?"

Negroes did not provoke the violence in Montgomery or Anniston or Birmingham. White mobs were the aggressors and barbarians; whites were the frenzied club-swingers; whites spouted the obscenities; whites bore the hate-distorted faces. Were they admonished? No! All the admonitory advice was for the Freedom Riders, the Negroes. And they were the ones with the gashes and bruises and bandaged heads. No Negro leader encouraged violence. It was the governor of the sovereign state of Alabama, Honorable John Patterson.

THE Freedom Riders of May 4-17 and those who are now riding for freedom are respectable, law-abiding American citizens. Most of them are young Negroes and most of them are southern in origin if not now by residence. James Farmer, CORE national director, for example, is originally from Texas. To call them interlopers and outlanders is as blunt-witted as it is blundering. And some of the white co-riders are also southern. They are educated, disciplined Americans; men and women of character and high moral courage. Yet they have become objects of attack and dislike by southern segregationists; while in some quarters in the north they are described as misguided zealots or propounders of strange heresies. Many northern editors have equated the Freedom Riders with the White Citizens Councils by speaking of "extremist on both sides." One New York daily even asserted that the Freedom Riders set out deliberately to try "to provoke violence in the South, so as to make martyrs for the cause of integration."

The Freedom Riders were not seeking martyrdom. They were trying to test the extent to which "service would be rendered without discrimination" in all forms of interstate travel in the South—in waiting rooms, in eating facilities, in public toilets, etc. The United States Supreme Court has already declared segregation illegal and the ICC has similarly ruled in

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keeping with the Court's decision. But the Deep South states, especially, still cling to their jim-crow statutes and integration in the region has been glacially slow. Interestingly enough, the riders encountered little trouble in the upper tier of southern states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina (some incidents).

THE southern retort to outside criticism or pressure is that their racial problems are peculiarly local, that they alone understand them, and that given sympathy and time they can solve them. This is not true. No major social change has ever occurred in the South, to our knowledge, without outside prodding. And Negro gains have resulted mainly from Negro pressures exercised through the federal courts. White friends, some of them southerners, have, of course, assisted.

Many white Americans now, it seems, are taking the attitude that with the striking strides that the Negro has made toward first-class citizenship, he should now take things "easy," be less militant, put his faith in gradualism. But the Negro rebels. The Negro has a right to rebel. He cannot ignore the caste-like conditions which still flourish for his people. There is, 'tis true, no constitutional recognition of race inferiority (at least in the Federal Constitution) in the United States, but there is, on the other hand, the mass belief in "white supremacy" which puts Negroes beyond the sympathy and comprehension of the white majority. And this "white supremacy" manifests itself in unmistakable ways. This means that Negroes are constantly wounded in their personal dignity and restricted in their daily activities as American citizens.

What are trivial daily doings for white Americans can often become nightmarish experiences for Negroes. He cannot visit the barber shop of his choice. He must seek one in the Negro ghetto. He usually cannot buy the house or rent the apartment which he wants and can afford. He is seldom welcome in motels and even in many hotels outside the South. He is barred from most fraternities and lodges. He is not welcome at resort hotels and vacation spots. He is either barred from or discriminated against in southern public libraries. He cannot walk into a "white" drug store in the South and order a "Coke" or a fountain drink. He is denied admission to many trade unions and skilled jobs, and is seldom given access to apprenticeship-training programs. Southern states even segregate his corpse in colored cemeteries. And twenty-two states still have laws which bar him from marrying white. The Negro moves about America with this gnawing agony—Will I be accepted? Pothered, harried, and badgered because of his race, the Negro is growing in race consciousness and more determined than ever to enjoy all the privileges and perquisites of his American citizenship.

We are men such as they!
We have a heart as big as they!
We can suffer no less than they!

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

LOCKHEED AND THE NEGRO

ALTHOUGH a segregated all-Negro local union has been dissolved by the International Association of Machinists and certain "fringe" improvements made in the general picture at the Marietta, Ga., plant of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the company is still requisitioning workers by race through the Georgia State Employment Service.

Herbert Hill, the Association's labor secretary, visited Marietta thirty days after the NAACP had lodged complaints of discriminatory employment policies, and noted the continuance of the racial requisitions for workers.

He said that throughout the South, racial segregation and arbitrary racial separation of workers and job categories are characteristic features of state employment services.

"Major industrial corporations operating with federal government contracts cannot possibly be in compliance with President Kennedy's non-discrimination order," Mr. Hill said, "where such contractors in the South are using the facilities of the state employment service."

Mr. Hill pointed out that the operating costs of all state employment services are provided 100 percent by the federal government under the Wagner-Peyser Act.

"If the federal government intends to make progress in the South in banning discrimination in employment, it can take a big first step by abolishing racialism in the state employment services, all of which are maintained by federal funds," Mr. Hill declared.

In New York and a number of other states with fair employment practices laws, employment agencies are forbidden to fill requisitions for workers which designate the race, color or religion of the workers desired.

The President's Committee on Equal Job Opportunity is investigating the NAACP charge that the Lockheed plant at Marietta, Ga., discriminates in the hiring and advancement of Negro employees. The company has been awarded a one billion dollar contract by the Air Force.

Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, chairman of the President's Committee, told Roy Wilkins, NAACP secretary, in a conference April 27, that his committee was investigating all the charges and that the company was cooperating.

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NAACP POSITION ON FREEDOM BUS RIDES

THE following statement on the Freedom Bus Ride Project was sent by Mr. Roy Wilkins to 1,434 NAACP units in 45 states:

The position of the NAACP on the Freedom Bus Riding project is simple and clear:

1. American citizens have the right and the duty to test the enforcement of the Constitution of the United States as embodied in the laws and in the interpretations and rulings of the United States Supreme Court.

2. Any state law or custom which is not in compliance with the Constitution is subject to challenge at any time by any citizen who chooses to act to enjoy his rights.

3. Where the proper authorities of the state and its subdivisions fail or refuse to protect citizens of the United States in pursuit of the enjoyment of their rights, it is the duty of the Federal Government to furnish such protection.

MEMBERS of the committee, Fashions for Freedom, Springfield, Mass., branch pictured with: Mrs. Margurite Belafonte, special projects director NAACP—from L, Mrs. Robert McDonald, Mrs. Chester Gibbs, narrator; Dr. Mary McLean, decorations; Rebessa Johnson, tickets; Rev. Thomas Foster, branch president; Mrs. Belafonte, Frank Buntin, music; Mrs. Ruth Loving, chairman; Mrs. Albert Garner, receptionist; and Mrs. Alonza Shieffield.

Buddy Rose



4. We reject completely, regardless of the guise in which it is presented, the indefensible thesis that citizens who seek to exercise their declared and defined constitutional rights anywhere in their country are provocateurs, or inciters to disorder or violence, or are otherwise disturbers of the public peace and order. When the public peace is based upon denial of the constitutional rights of the individual and upon the suppression of petitioners, protestants and peaceful activities, then it is not peace, but tyranny.

The attempt to equate the peaceful protests of those persons acting within their rights and within the framework of the law, with the violent brutality of mobsters operating wholly without, and in defiance of, the law is a service to confusion and to the further debasement of due process

SAMUEL WILLIAMS, president of the New Jersey State Conference and NAACP national board member, was given a testimonial dinner by the conference on April 21 at the Essex House, Newark. He received tributes from New Jersey notables in civic and political circles and was presented an NAACP life membership plaque by Dr. U. S. Wiggins. His wife was presented a plaque by Mrs. Delia Matrin. Pictured, from L, are Dr. Harold Lett, Mrs. Madaline Williams, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary.

Sidney Bank





Cecil Layne

SAMSON LODGE NO. 65—*Laselve E. Giscomb (L), Worshipful Master of Samson Lodge, presents lodge's check for \$500 NAACP life membership to Mildred Bond, NAACP life membership secretary. Lodge president F. Douglas Landers stands at right.*

and equality under law. This alleged reasoning is akin to insisting that Negro citizens who seek to register and vote in some localities are as guilty of creating a disturbance as are the white people who use violence to stop them.

5. We further reject the contention that Negro citizens should voluntarily declare a moratorium on their efforts to challenge the denial of their rights and should permit segregation-as-usual in the interest of lessened tensions. Never have the segregationists been asked to alter their customs or operations, even briefly, in the interest of lessened tensions. Never have the segregrtaionists given an inch except under the pressure of court orders or economic boycotts. In these instances change has been reluctant, grudging and on a minimum basis, and has been accomplished only after last-ditch resistance.

6. It is significant that the Freedom Bus Riders encountered no violence and bloodshed except in Alabama, the one state where the NAACP has been prevented from operating.

The secretary conferred personally on May 15 (the day after the bus burning at Anniston, Ala.) with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy for one hour and urged federal protection for the riders. In other statements and speeches the same protection has been demanded by the NAACP.

NAACP units at every stop on the itinerary of the first CORE Freedom Bus project were alerted and were prepared to cooperate in any way to make the project a success. A group of NAACP youth members was at the station in Jackson, Miss., when the first Freedom Bus arrived there.

"JUMS" (Just Us Mothers Club) of Pittsburgh, Pa., presents \$500 check, through its president, Mrs. Viola Woods, to Atty. Byrd Brown, branch president, for the club's NAACP life membership. Pictured from L, front row, are Geraldine Mike, Delores Redwood, secretary; Viola Woods, president; Byrd Brown, Louise Smith, Mary Barnett, and James Scott, branch executive secretary. From top down on stairs: Alberta Atwater, Gwen Bates and Mildred Woods, Louise Clark and Mary Ray, Jessie Anderson, Betty Forbes, Elva Robinson and Jane Page, Ardell Douglas, and Ann Barnett.

Wally DuBoise & Associates



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Since July 1956, the NAACP has been prevented by court order from operating in Alabama and has been frustrated by the refusal of Alabama courts to re-open the hearing on the injunction. But on May 16, the NAACP won a ruling that it may now proceed in the federal court in Alabama. We expect to be back in business there soon.

NAACP MOURNS NANNIE H. BURROUGHS

"**H**EARTFELT sympathy" was expressed by the NAACP on the death of Nannie H. Burroughs, prominent educator and churchwoman.

Roy Wilkins, in a message to Mrs. Janie Bradford, a surviving relative, called Miss Burroughs a "staunch advocate of equal rights and opportunity."

"We were privileged to have had her service as a member of our Board and then as a vice-president of our organization. Her presence and inspiration will be sorely missed," the NAACP executive secretary said.

She served as president of the Women's Convention of the National Baptist Convention and worked as editor of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention.

Miss Burroughs founded the National Trade and Professional School for Women and Girls at Lincoln Heights, Washington, D. C., in 1907.

ACCEPTS MEMBERSHIP TROPHY—Rev. S. T. Alexander (center), pastor Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Fort Worth, Texas, receives NAACP membership trophy from Dr. George D. Flemmings, president Fort Worth branch. This is the second consecutive year that Rev. Alexander and his church membership have won this coveted membership award. Pictured, from L, are Richard D. Hill, Jr., assistant branch secretary; Dr. Flemmings, Rev. Alexander, Ernest Jones, general membership campaign director; and R. J. Diamond, branch vice-president and campaign booster.

Littlejohn Studio



MISS BOND CONTINUES PARENTS' WORK

MILDRED BOND fled Brownsville, Tennessee, with her parents 22 years ago, but she returned on May 7 to continue the work they had started and for which they suffered the burning of their home and exile.

Miss Bond, national NAACP life membership secretary, presented the charter to the newly re-organized NAACP branch at Brownsville following a welcome home parade down Jefferson and Jackson Streets to the First Baptist Church on Jefferson Street.

Brownsville, county seat of Haywood county, continues as one of the nation's major civil-rights storm centers, following Negro vote registration activity.

But the present Haywood-Fayette county story goes back to Sunday evening, June 23, 1940, and even before, when the body of Elbert Williams, NAACP leader, was fished from the river.

Williams had aroused the ire of Haywood county whites by encouraging Negroes to vote—something that had not occurred since Reconstruction days.

Miss Bond's father, Ollie S. Bond, a mortician, founded the Associations first unit there in 1938. But, when Negro leaders expressed an interest in voting (61 per cent of the county is Negro), they ran into untold hardships.

The Bond family was forced to flee for their lives on Christmas Eve afternoon, 1939. Their escape was unknown to elements of the white community that burned the Bond home to the ground that same evening.

Mr. Bond read of Negroes successful registering to vote in his native Brownsville, in his New York home, early last June.

"I never thought I'd live to see Negroes vote in Brownsville," said the pioneer NAACP leader. Hours later he was dead of a heart attack.

But his daughter has returned to continue his fight for the Negroes of Brownsville, surrounding Haywood and nearby Fayette counties.

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What the Branches Are Doing

California: Acting regional secretary Tarea Hall Pittman has hailed the victory of civil-rights supporters who helped in the passage of the Hawkins Fair Housing Bill on May 8 by a vote of 14 to 16.

Dr. H. Claude Hudson of Los Angeles was keynote speaker at the public celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Supreme Court school ruling of May 14, 1954, held at the California State Capitol in Sacramento on May 21.

Carl Rowan, assistant deputy secretary of public affairs for the State Department, was the speaker at the June 30 awards banquet of the BERKELEY branch.

Delaware: Attorney Louis T. Redding of Wilmington was honored in April with a testimonial dinner given by the DELAWARE STATE CONFERENCE. More than 500 guests attended the "Next Step to Freedom" banquet to honor him for his legal work against segregation in Delaware and to listen to an address by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president-emeritus of Howard.

Attorney Redding's work in desegregation of schools was lauded by Dr. Johnson as "of the highest service to the Negro, the United States and the western world."

If the United Nations saw fit to call the apartheid of South Africa "reprehensible and injurious to human dignity," southern Delaware's treatment of the Negro makes "twin brothers," Dr. Johnson declared.

Florida: In PENSACOLA the Escambia county board of public instruction has voted to comply with a federal court ruling calling for a desegregation plan within 90 days. This is the first county-wide order for desegregation of schools in Florida and it is felt that it will have effect on the state's pupil placement law.

The TAMPA branch is urging Negro parents in Hillsboro county to seek reassignment of their children to schools of their choice. The MIAMI branch is asking the Miami Transit Company to begin the hiring of Negro drivers on all lines operating in Dade county. The WEST PALM BEACH branch has called upon city officials to begin a program of desegregation of all public facilities operated by the city.

Illinois: The CHICAGO branch has asked police superintendent Orlando Wilson to investigate a 30-minute delay of the 17th District police station to answer a call for help. The branch charges that the 30-

minute delay resulted in a shooting which could have been avoided had the police responded immediately.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell ((N.Y.) was principal speaker at the annual Freedom Fund Dinner sponsored by the Chicago branch on June 22.

Indiana: The FORT WAYNE branch and the Fort Wayne chapter of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice sponsored a "Law Day, U.S.A." celebration on April 30. Speakers were Larry Burke, local attorney; Irving Levine, executive director Indiana conference civil rights; and John Preston Ward, local attorney.

Kansas: Ernest Russell, educational director of the Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission, was a speaker at a recent meeting of the WICHITA branch.

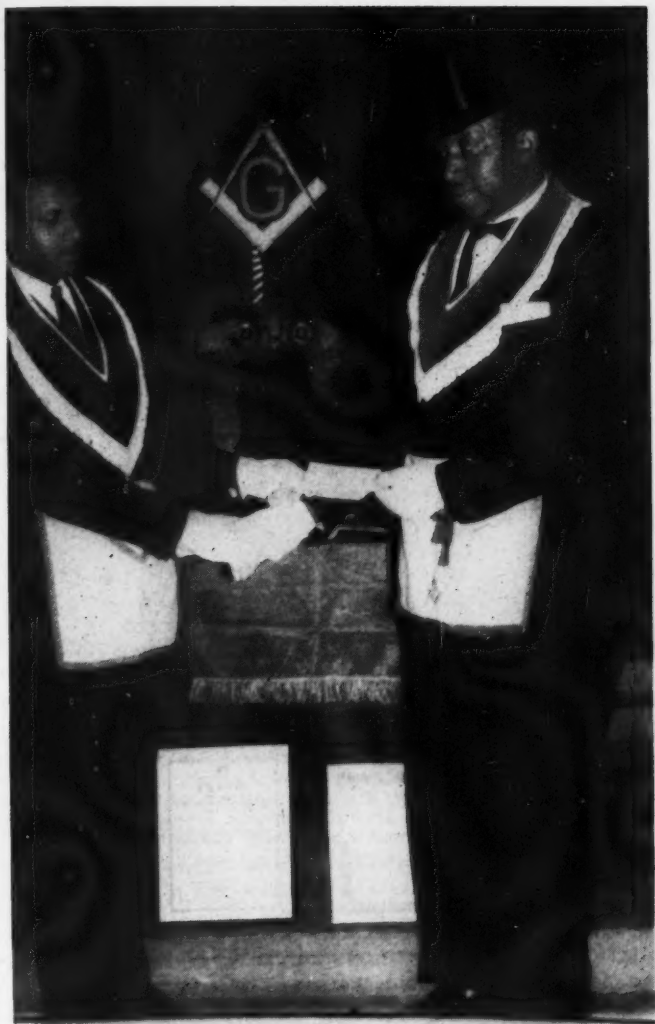
Massachusetts: The BOSTON branch celebrated the seventh anniversary of the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 14, 1954, with a public program on May 21 in the Boston Technical High School. Charlayne Hunter of the University of Georgia was one of the main speakers.

Missouri: The ST. LOUIS branch held a conference on voter registration on May 1, with William C. Patton of the national office staff as the principal speaker at the conference.

Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, president of the St. Louis branch, wrote a letter on May 1 to chief of police Curtis Brostron pointing out discrimination against local Negro policemen through failure to promote them, even when qualified. She wrote, among other things: "According to our investigation there are approximately fifty commissioned officers from the Negro community who have college training. We understand that ten of these are college graduates, yet only one of these ten has rank above patrolman. On the other hand, out of some 1800 non-Negro commissioned officers, about 7 are college graduates and at least six of these hold rank of sergeant or above."

Nebraska: Above 150 persons attended a reception in the governor's mansion sponsored by the LINCOLN branch. This is the first time in the state of Nebraska that the NAACP has enjoyed the hospitality of the executive mansion. Guests were greeted in the receiving line by Governor and Mrs. Frank Morrison, the Rev. Albert Williams (branch president) and Mrs. Williams.

PRINCE HALL MILITARY LODGE, *Free and Accepted Masons of Bamberg, Germany, is now a life member of the NAACP. James W. Thurman (R), Worshipful Master, receives a \$500 check from Lawrence Brown, Jr., lodge treasurer, which was mailed to the NAACP national office in May.*





Herbert Abrams

PARTICIPANTS in the Freedom Sunday program held in the Friendship Baptist Church, Lansing, Michigan, branch—from L, Atty. Stuart J. Dunnings, Jr., life membership chairman; Ernest Green, president Michigan State NAACP chapter; Rudolph Wilson, freedom fund chairman; Rev. Joseph Parker, co-chairman church work committee; Mrs. Josephine Warton, president Lansing branch; Verne Kinsey, Michigan assistant attorney general; Rev. Paul Morrison, pastor Central Methodist Church; Judge George Edwards, Michigan Supreme Court; and Rev. Gladstone Scott, co-chairman church work committee.

Nevada: President Eddie Scott of the CARSON CITY branch addressed a telegram on March 10 to President Kennedy, senators Bible and Cannon, and congressman Baring:

"Discrimination general in housing, employment and public accommodations. Economy Negroes Nevada depressed. Pending civil rights legislation receiving negligible support. Leadership lacking espouse; caused FHA discrimination everywhere. Negro service men suffering. Seventy percent relegated substandard rentals. Urge you use moral force assist sponsors.

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New Jersey: Annual "kick-off" membership drive of the MONTCLAIR branch was launched on April 14, with counselor Raymond A. Brown of the Jersey branch as guest speaker. Branch membership goal is 1,250 members. Campaign chairman and advisor are John Sterling and Dr. Walter Darden; they are assisted by John Bowles and Donald Moss. Mrs. Margaret Bass is membership chairman.

The RUTGERS UNIVERSITY chapter of the NAACP, under the leadership of president Ruffen Cotten, has been successful in getting university president Dr. Mason Gross to adopt a new policy of non-discrimination in off-campus housing.

Under the procedure recommended by Steven Leeds, vice-president of the chapter and chairman of its housing committee, Rutgers will, in the future, refuse to list in its "approved directory" of off-campus housing any rooms, apartments or other such facilities which may not be open to all of its students without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. In addition, landlords will be required to sign affidavits which state that they will not discriminate against prospective clients because of the above-mentioned factors.

In order to make certain that the new policy is stringently adhered to, Dr Gross has indicated that he will appoint Joseph Nolan, the University's housing director and Steven Leeds of the NAACP chapter along with other students and faculty representatives to a committee which will make continuous checks to insure that the University's non-bias policy is being enforced.

New York: Twenty-sixth annual conference of the New York State Conference of NAACP was held at Hotel Pierrepont, Brooklyn, N. Y., May 26-28.

The Vallorettes Social Club presented Catharine Eason in a concert on May 21 and then presented the proceeds to the WILLIAMSBRIDGE branch to be used by the branch to buy an NAACP life membership for branch president Walter Carlisle, Jr.

The WHITE PLAINS-GREENBURGH branch sent strong protests over the Alabama riots to President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Guest speaker at the May 21 meeting was Dr. V. E. Amassian, professor of physiology at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, who discussed the problems facing Negro students seeking a medical education. George Walton, chemical engineer in the analytical department of General Foods, was speaker at the June 4 branch meeting. He spoke on the necessity that Negro youth be alert, well-informed, and active in the struggle for equality.

Excerpts from a letter addressed by Dr. Eugene T. Reed, president of the New York State Conference of NAACP Branches to the editor of the Newburgh *Evening News* regarding the New York Welfare Residency Law:

I am flattered that my remarks in Newburgh on March 19, 1961, elicited editorial comment in your newspaper. I refer to your lead editorial of March 23, headlined "NAACP Leader Errs." In your article is an implied denial that acceptance of the Welfare Residency Bill is designed to stop Negroes and Puerto Ricans from coming to New York. This thought reveals either an amazing ignorance of the facts or a deliberate attempt to distort them.

In the March 2 issue of your newspaper, Newburgh City Manager Joseph Mitchell was quoted as saying that the principles of Welfare are "being violated by this horde of incoming humanity . . . never-ending pilgrimage from North Carolina to New York." Later in the same article he states, "I have evidence that the preponderance of welfare cases of this type are in Wards One, Two, Three and Four." I am sure that the readers of your paper know that these are the wards predominantly populated by Negroes.

It would appear from Mr. Mitchell's statement that in Newburgh, as in most other northern communities, the large percentage of new-comers needing welfare assistance are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. I feel, however, that it is time to call a spade a spade; to determine whether the welfare residency bill is a proper one in the light of all circumstances. . . .

Perhaps a better way to stem the tide of the "never-ending pilgrimage from North Carolina to New York" referred to by Mr. Mitchell would be to have that type of federal fair employment practices act that would enable the Negro to find his economic niche in the South; to have that type of civil rights legislation strong enough to protect the Negro in his right to register, to vote, to equal education, and all the other rights his American citizenship should secure for him in the south; to have that type of federal legislation that would put an end to lynching, both of the old-time variety and the type that has taken the lives of many Negroes in the last few years, including the Moores, Emmett Till, and others.

There is another aspect of this problem. It is a known fact that many of the Negroes who find themselves in our state without any means of support are Negroes who were lured to New York by unscrupulous employers who needed them for temporary work in the fields and orchards of this state, or conniving employment agency operators who induced them to come to New York. They have been cajoled and pleaded with to come to New York, even to your county, to help in the multi-million dollar harvesting and food processing industry. Then, when they have served the financial purposes for which they were brought, they have found themselves abandoned. . . .

Then, too, we must remember that we cannot eat our cake and have it too. There are those persons who willingly benefit from having Negroes and Puerto Ricans perform the tasks so menial and poorly-paid that although these unskilled workers work full time, their salary is inadequate to provide even the bare necessities provided by welfare. In many of these cases, the need for supplemental relief has been brought to the attention of the authorities by alert teachers, ministers or others who have seen these persons struggling vainly to maintain themselves and their families on their meager incomes.

No one who is aware of the amount of money provided in the average welfare case and the cost of living today would seriously contend that one leaves the South or Puerto Rico because they prefer life on relief rolls to an honest job. . . .

If you will recognize that less than 2 per cent of Welfare recipients in this state will come under the restrictions of the recently adopted residency law, and that the federal government pays the greater share of the cost of their aid, you must agree that those who have contended for the law and voted for the law did

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so, not to save money or relieve the relief rolls. They did so to force Negroes and Puerto Ricans who found themselves in dire straits to leave the state.

Ohio: Kivie Kaplan, national life membership chairman, was guest speaker at a recent breakfast meeting of the CINCINNATI branch. Wilberforce University presented Mr. Kaplan with an honorary LL. D. degree on April 20.

South Carolina: Two officers of the South Carolina State Youth Conference became the first Negroes to be served at the Greyhound restaurant in Charleston on May 30. The students, David Carter and Lennie Glover, experienced no difficulty in getting service. They and their white-female student companion from the University of South Carolina were treated hospitably by management and staff.

Tennessee: The MEMPHIS branch has appointed its first executive secretary in the person of Mrs. Maxine A. Smith. Her appointment became effective April 10. Mrs. Smith had served for three years as chairman of the branch membership committee.

The KNOXVILLE branch feted all former presidents on April 21 at a "Presidents Ball."

New College Units: Youth secretary Herbert L. Wright reported establishment of two college units on whites campuses in the South: the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. This marks the first time since 1946 that the NAACP has had active college chapters on the campuses of predominantly white southern schools.

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FIGHT FOR FREEDOM DINNER—Enjoying a chat at the 1961 fight for freedom dinner (April 9) of the Detroit, Mich., branch are (from L) Dr. James McLendon, dinner co-chairman; James Dabbs, speaker, president of the Southern Regional Council; and Edward Turner, branch president. **BOTTOM:** Governor John B. Swainson of Michigan presents a gift to Sammy Davis, Jr., while dinner chairman Damon Keith smiles approval.

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College and School News

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY held its commencement on May 29. Dr. F. D. Patterson, former president of Tuskegee Institute and president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was the speaker.

Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, chairman of Hampton Institute's department of languages and literature, will spend the next academic year as a visiting professor at the University of Warsaw, Poland.

President John F. Kennedy has named Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of DILLARD UNIVERSITY, to the national advisory council of the Peace Corps. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare also announces his appointment to the Federal Hospital Council, which advises the Surgeon General.

Commencement exercises at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE were held on June 4. Dr. Leonard H. Robinson, dean of education and general studies at A&T College in Greensboro, was the speaker.

SPELMAN COLLEGE has received a grant of \$750,000 from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for the construction of a new fine arts building.

Nine Spelman students have been elected for inclusion in "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges." Forty-one students were on the honor roll for the first semester, 1960-61: 14 seniors, 3 juniors, 12 sophomores, and 12 freshmen. All were honored at an honors' day dinner addressed by Dr. C. A. Bacote, Spelman professor of history.

Funeral services for Mrs. Georgia Caldwell Smith, head of the college

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department of mathematics, were held on May 9.

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Cheyney State College

New York City, has established the George Edmund Haynes Award in memory of the late Dr. George Edmund Haynes, sociologist and educator. Dr. Haynes died in January 1960.

Dr. Pressley McCoy, associate director of the Danforth Foundation, was principal speaker at the TALLADEGA COLLEGE commencement on June 5.

One hundred and fifty American colleges and universities have inaugurated a coordinated program for the education of African students in the USA. The program will start in September 1961.

Soprano Gladys Tiff, an alumna of CLAFLIN COLLEGE, gave a concert at her alma mater on April 16.

Treasury secretary Douglas Dillon has announced the appointment of Dr. Samuel Z. Westerfield, Jr., dean of the school of business administration at Atlanta University, to the staff of the TREASURY DEPARTMENT. He is associate director of the Debt Analysis Staff in the office of the Secretary.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY awarded the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters to Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Five new scholarships this year bring to 411 the number of students



JANICE MARIE BRANHAM

Janice Marie Branham, an alumna of WEST KENTUCKY VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, is the first Negro to be employed as a full-time sales clerk at the Aldens Catalog Store, Paducah, Kentucky.

Dr. Harry V. Richardson was inaugurated as the first president of the INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER on May 3.

Commencement exercises at BENEDICT COLLEGE were held on May 23, with the principal address being delivered by Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., president of Howard University.

Two Benedict students and two professors have won fellowships for advanced study this year: Ruby Waiters, Nancy Gallman, students; Arnold Taylor and Eddie Cecil, professors.

aided since September 1947, 'Catholic Scholarships for Negroes' announced at its 16th annual board meeting in Washington.

Frederica Merry of Saint Louis, Mo., was initiated on May 13 as a charter member of Alpha Tau Chapter of Kappa Omicron Phi at BRADLEY UNIVERSITY (Peoria, Ill.). KOP is a national home economics honorary fraternity.

Miss Merry was selected on the bases of scholarship, leadership potentialities, good professional attitude, and a promise of outstanding achievements.

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE held its commencement on May 29, with Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, as speaker.

Boston College has awarded a \$3,800 fellowship to Preston Royster, a VSC senior.

George O. Roberts, associate professor of sociology, received his Ph. D. degree from Catholic University at its 1961 commencement.

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Eighteenth annual Institute of Race Relations will be held at FISK UNIVERSITY, June 19-July 1.

Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Central State College, was commencement speaker on June 5.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY has awarded full-tuition scholarships to two African students, Justin Chongo of Northern Rhodesia, and Joseph K. Kanyi of Kenya.

Seventeen UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND faculty members have been awarded a total of \$68,447 in combined grants from their respective colleges and the UNNCF faculty fellowship program. The grants will enable the professors to complete work on their doctoral degrees during the coming year.

Mrs. Dorothy Smith Dailey is new TV and radio director of the UNCF. She succeeds Mrs. Dorothy L. Barker, who had held the post for the past eight years.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY awarded 79 graduate degrees at its commencement convocation on June 5. Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Mich., was the speaker.

Elizabeth Banks and Sylvia Harris received Merrill Foreign Study Fellowships for the 1961-62 academic year. They will leave the USA at the end of the summer for a year's postgraduate study.

Romeyn Van Vleck Lippman, Boston artist, received the prize awarded on the vote of those attend-

ing the 20th annual Atlanta University Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture and Prints by Negro Artists for his oil, "Church."

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE refused to participate in the segregated Memorial Day parade held in Xenia, Ohio.

More than 1,500 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN students signed a 15-foot letter supporting United States Department of Justice action in the racial turmoil arising from the southern "Freedom Rides."

A student group also collected four tons of food and clothing for the evicted Negro sharecroppers in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee.

TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE's 92nd commencement was held on June 4, with Dr. Emory Ross, chairman of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, as speaker.

Tougaloo has accepted an invitation to participate in the fifth annual Danforth Workshop to be held at Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado, June 19-July 8. This is the second invitation the college has re-

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ceived to participate in the workshop.

The college faculty, on recommendation of its athletic committee, has voted to discontinue participation in intercollegiate football.

BISHOP COLLEGE's 80th commencement was held on May 26, with Dr. Modercai W. Johnson, president-emeritus of Howard, as the speaker.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, director of the USHHFA, was commencement speaker at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE on June 5.

Doctors James H. Birnie and Frederick E. Mapp, working under an Atomic Energy Commission contract, reported important research findings to the American Physiological Society at a meeting held in Atlantic City, N. J.

President Benjamin Mays represented the Peace Corps at a conference held in Addis Ababa, May 15-25.

SHAW UNIVERSITY held its commencement on May 29. His Excellency George A. Padmore, Liberian ambassador in Washington, was the speaker.

Twenty-fifth annual session of the Ministers' Institute was held at Shaw June 5-9.

Sixty-second commencement was held at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY on June 5, with Dr. James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Re-

gional Council, as the speaker.

Governor J. Millard Tawes of Maryland was commencement speaker at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE on June 4.

Wilford L. White, director, Office of Management and Research, The Small Business Administration, Washington, was speaker at the dinner-meeting of the second annual small business institute.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY held its 93rd commencement on June 9. Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson was the speaker. Honorary degrees were awarded to Dr. Robert C. Weaver, housing administrator; Dr. Otto Klineberg, psychologist; and Dr. Hil-drus Poindexter, public health officer.

Howard dedicated its new Auditorium-Fine Arts Building on June 4. Professor Marion T. Wright has received the fifth annual Evening Star Research fellowship to complete a biographical study of the late Lucy Diggs Slowe, the first dean of women at Howard.

Kenneth L. Bryant of Mount Vernon, N. Y., received his M.D. degree from the medical school. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Bryant of Mt. Vernon.

Nineteen outstanding college science students have been elected to work with scientists of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY this summer on advanced research projects.

Book Reviews

MUNTU: An Outline of the New African Culture. By Janheinz Jahn. Translated from the German by Marjorie Grene. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961. 267pp. \$5.50.

This is probably the first book to attempt a perspective survey of the culture of black Africa. Mr. Jahn begins by reminding us that the same Westerners who favor the political emancipation of Africa have their doubts about the ability of Africans to "appropriate modern technology and modern forms of organization without abandoning their traditional culture." Those who hold this thesis, he says, are mistaken, since it is based upon the assumption that African cultures are "primitive" cultures and therefore passive and simple. This idea is absurd because it disregards the fact that African societies have an ancient history and "an independent culture of equal value with other cultures."

"African intelligence," explains Mr. Jahn, "wants to integrate into modern life only what seems valuable from the past. The goal is neither the traditional African nor the black European but the modern Africa . . . we call it neo-African culture." The author calls his book *Muntu*—a Bantu word, meaning "man," but whose concept "embraces living and dead, ancestors and deified

ancestors: gods"—because it is one of the keys to the African genius. *Muntu* is a lived, complex experience which our author, for the purposes of his study, has arbitrarily decomposed into religion, dances, philosophy, poetry, and literature and the arts.

His first two chapters on Voodoo and the dance offer nothing new: they are actually nothing more than skilful summaries of Michel Leiris, Alfred Métraux, and Fernando Ortiz. African religion is polytheistic and in many parts of the New World where it has come in contact with Christianity it has Africanized and assimilated the Christian elements: Voodoo in Haiti, Santería in Cuba, Candomblé in Brazil, etc. The faithful see no inconsistency in worshipping both Catholic saints and African *Orichas*. There is a brief description of the Afro-Cuban secret society, *Nañiguismo*; and in discussing the *rumba* he emphasizes the influence of this dance rhythm on Afro-Cuban lyric poetry (Nicolás Guillén, Ramón Guirao, Emilio Ballagas, *et. al.*) "African rhythm has been able," the author explains, "to make itself at home in Spanish."

When it comes to the African *Weltanschauung*, Mr. Jahn's fundamental unity seems forced, derived as it is from the disparate reports of Marcel

Griaule, Adesanya, Kagame. . . is wholly is, energetic be ordered tion.

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The Black Lincoln ion: \$4.95.

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Griale, Placide Tempels, Adebayo Adesanya, Maya Deren, and Alexis Kagame. The African world he pictures is wholly organic in conception; that is, energies do not exist unless they can be ordered by the force of the imagination.

There is a chapter on *Nommo*, "the magic force of the spoken word"; one on African sculpture, painting, and the mask; one on a history of African literature; and one on the conflict of cultures.

Mr. Jahn's study is weakened by his complete ignoring of the economic and political factors which are sure to mold the future of this neo-African culture. Nor does he always make a distinction between residual and neo-African culture. Mr. Jahn has a mythological cast of mind and this, it seems, blinds him to the fact that neo-African culture is a subjectivity, a voice of protest, rather than an objectivity. *Muntu* is in one sense a poetic glorification of *la négritude*. Oddly enough, the principal audience for neo-African culture is white, not black. And *la négritude*, an American and not an African concept, was given renown by Jean-Paul Sartre, a Frenchman. It should be mentioned, too, in closing that Mr. Jahn calls attention to Dr. Frantz Fanon's original and incisive analysis of what it means psychologically to be a black man in a white world.

J.W.I.

The Black Muslims in America. By C. Eric Lincoln. Foreword by Gordon Allport. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961. XI+276pp. \$4.95.

Dr. Lincoln paints a portrait of America's Black Muslims, their origins, tenets, activities, and membership. America's Black Muslims, it must be remembered, are not authentic Islamites, but members of an eccentric religious and racist sect. The origin of the black nationalist movement (*au fond*, the

Black Muslims are nationalists) in the USA cannot be attributed to a single source: it includes the Moorish Science Temple of Timothy Drew (circa 1913), which was "essentially religious"; the Universal Negro Improvement Association (1920s) of Marcus Garvey, which was "primarily political"; and the black nationalist cult of Wallace D. Fard, which began in Detroit in 1920. One of Fard's lieutenants was Elijah Muhammad, born Elijah Poole in Georgia, who took over after Fard's disappearance in 1934.

Of the many complex strands which go to make up the Muslim movement these seem basic: rejection of the white man's Christianity, black superiority, and the creation of a black nation (by the assignment of special territory) within the USA. These beliefs are held with fanatical fervor. To whom do such fantasies appeal? Dr. Lincoln points out that Muslim appeal is to the "most disprivileged class" of Negroes. Its membership is predominantly young (about 80 percent), male, lower class, ex-Christian, and American Negro.

"The Muslim dogma of absolute hostility between the Black Man and the white 'devil' is simply an acceptance of the dogma of the white supremacists, made palatable by reversing the values held to be inherent in 'black' and 'white' . . . [It is] in great part, a lightly disguised rationalization of things as they are. . . ." However, there are commendable features of the movement: fraternal responsibility, rehabilitation of the unregenerate, self-help, honesty, thrift, human dignity, and pride of race.

Why do the Black Muslims reject the dominant values of American society? Because of white dominance, the blight of white racism, and the shadows of contumely and insult in which the Negro lives. The most disprivileged blacks are the most disprized! This search on the part of the Negro masses for some saving identity is world-wide and ranges from the past violence of

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Because Dr. Du Bois' own life—approaching his 94th year—has been the life not merely of a witness and observer but of an active participant and militant leader, and because it dramatically mirrors the historic events described, there is never any deviation from his central theme—the invincible sweep and drive of the heroic, stubborn, many-sided struggle of the Negro people for full equality.

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Mau Mau in Kenya to the potential violence of the Black Muslims and the Ras Tafarians in Jamaica, B.W.I. The motto of all seems to be: "Deeds not words are needed."

Here an historical parenthesis should be added. Negro religions (there have been many Negro modifications of orthodox Christianity) have often played a seminal role in New-World Negro revolts against white domination. In Haiti in 1791, for instance, the slave revolt at Le Cap was organized by Boukman, a high priest of *Vaudou*. In Brazil the Black Muslims (*Malês*) were at the heart of the eight slave revolts which took place at Bahia between 1807 and 1835. Their aims were to kill the whites, take power, and to banish Christianity in the name of Allah. The *Malês*, unlike the Black Muslims, however, were recusant Muslims, since their religious practices had been corrupted by the introduction of fetishistic elements and practices. Islam, it must be remembered, had been introduced into Brazil by the Islamized Negroes from the Sudan and Nigeria.

Coming back to *The Black Muslims in America*, Dr. Lincoln has written a book that deserves wide reading and deep thought. The author, however, exaggerates the achievements of Marcus Garvey and one likewise wonders how he arrived at his 100,000 membership for the Black Muslims.

J.W.I.

Worlds of Color. A novel by W. E. B. Du Bois. Book Three in *The Black Flame: A Trilogy*. New York: Mainstream Publishers, 1961. 349pp. \$4.50.

Dr. Du Bois published the first volume in this trilogy, *The Ordeal of Mansart*, in 1957; the second, *Mansart Builds a School*, in 1959; now we have the third and last volume detailing the experiences of the Mansarts after Reconstruction to date. Although "The Black Flame" purports to be fiction, it

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is actually history, à la Du Bois, of the American Negro since 1870, mostly of his experiences along the color line.

Worlds of Color deals with Manuel Mansart's experiences along the color line around the world, where in the course of his travels and meditations he meets most of the world's leaders. Because the author is not a story-teller, his characters are little more than puppets used to interpret his selected circumstances, and these circumstances are often implausible. Chief fault of *Worlds of Color*, in addition to its dubious key to salvation, is its oversimplification of the problems presented.

J.W.I.

Africa A to Z: A Guide for Travelers—Armchair and Actual. By Robert S. Kane. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961. With maps and photographs. 408pp. \$4.95.

This travel-guide to Africa is perhaps the first in English to "the new nations of Africa." Not only is Mr. Kane's book eminently practicable but it is also highly readable and sauced at times with sly humor. Mr. Kane visited 56 countries, ranging from Algeria and Egypt through Ghana and Guinea and Angola; the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias; Tanganyika and Kenya and Ethiopia; Nigeria and the Niger and Chad.

He begins with the African background and follows this up with general information about visas, inoculations, climate, currency, tipping, languages, shopping, what to pack, etc. Then the author considers each country individually. He tells the best time to visit, lists the entry requirements, explains the currency, film availability, the principal European language, and the nature of domestic transport. A short introduction summarizes the history and the culture of each country in relation to its present political and economic situation; then he tells what to see—cities, towns, historical monuments,

museums, etc.—what to buy and where to stay—the latter he heads "Creature Comforts," under which he lists hotels, restaurants, bars and beaches, and nightclubs, when the place has them.

Mr. Kane has done for Africa what Herr Baedeker did for Europe—made reliable information available for the traveler in Africa.

J.W.I.

The West Indies and Their Future. By Daniel Guérin. London: Dennis Dobson, 1961. 192pp. 18s net (\$2.50). Translated by Austryn Wainhouse from "Les Antilles Décolonisées."

In 174 pages Monsieur Guérin manages to condense a vast amount of useful information on the history and the problems of the West Indies. The first part of the book, 11 chapters, outlines the economic misery, the one-crop economies, the population pressures, and the color-structure of the islands; the second, 5 chapters, early forms of resistance to European domination, race consciousness, political problems, nationalism, and the major issues which must be corrected if the Antilles are to have a healthy future. What is important in this book is the author's basic geographic, economic, and social analysis.

Monsieur Guérin has a broad background of study of colonialism in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Madagascar, Indochina, and Africa and a burning belief in democracy. He presents his story well, and at times movingly.

The original of *The West Indies and Their Future* was published in Paris by *Présence Africaine* in 1956 with an introduction by Aimé Césaire and the author's "Dedication" to his great-grandfather, Gustave d'Eichthal, both of which are omitted from the English edition. A review of *Les Antilles Décolonisées* appeared in *The Crisis* for April 1957 at page 250.

J.W.I.

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